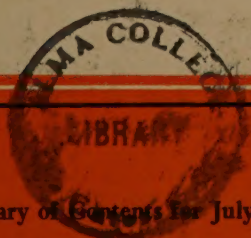


Christian Order



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Christian Order

EDITED BY

Paul Crane SJ

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Christ and the Crowd

THE EDITOR

THE Church is meant to permeate contemporary society. In this there is nothing new. Her Founder told his followers to let their light shine before men. They were not to hide it away, but let it shine out on mankind. This they could only do to the extent that they shared new life with him, for it was from life so shared that the light would come bringing hope to the hearts of men. The world was to be delivered from evil through the labours of God's people, his Mystical Body, which is the Church, extending through time the mercy of his redeeming work. It was thus in the very nature of Christianity that the Christian should be a Christopher, a bearer of Christ to others. From him, by reason of his Faith, the light had to shine out on men.

There are stages in this process, different yet supporting methods of achieving the overall objectives. All have this in common, that they can be effective only to the extent that those engaged in them share life with Christ. Divorced from this sharing they are without value because devoid of love. For the Christian, therefore, what we used to call the interior life is not an alternative to effective action, but its essential complement. This is a truth some Catholics are tending to lose sight of in these post-conciliar days. There is amongst them much talk of commitment, but it is combined with little regard for prayer as its essential support.

In the event, commitment has become little more in their eyes than a process of clutching at the coat-tails of a bustling world.

This can only mean that the Christian presence, as they would apply it to the world is not merely insufficient in its understanding of the part grace must play, but indiscriminate in its application. If immersion in the secular is seen as good in itself, then scope is removed for the application of Christian values to public life; any attempt to alter the shape of society becomes an unwarranted exercise of pressure, something contrary to the tolerance which should mark the Christian as member of a plural society. It is no coincidence. I think, that, since the Council, the Catholic Social Movement in this country has folded up and that Catholics are far less determined in their criticism of public abuse than they used to be. If commitment is called for without qualification; if presence means no more than being one of the crowd, which means taking his cue from it in order to remain with it. But how, then, can he be the light of the world? The answer is that he cannot. What then has gone wrong?

At the moment, we are in the grip of a reaction against the Church's attempt in pre-conciliar days to influence the world by confronting it with a vigorous organised Catholicism to stand over and against the secular and condemn it. This has been scored by progressives as divisive, if not triumphalist; contrary to the ecumenical spirit and the claims of Christians of a plural society. In reaction, they have gone to the other extreme and proclaimed the Christian vocation in the world in terms of the passivity of mere presence and little more. In their anxiety to be done with outmoded means of influencing society, they have lost sight of the need to influence it at all; determined not to separate the Christian from the world through the organised confrontation of yesterday, they have determined to make him indistinguishable from it, allowing him to become no more than a nonentity without influence in its midst; one of the crowd and nothing more, a follower, therefore, and not a leader; a Christian without light, which is a contradiction in terms.

There is a fault here of logic. The need in today's plural

society may well be for Christians to influence their surroundings through individual permeation rather than organised confrontation; to permeate contemporary society rather than stand in face of it. To do this effectively, they must not, indeed, be separated from their fellow-men; but they must, at the same time, remain distinct from them by reason of the life they share with Christ and the scale of values that is theirs. Christians must be in the world, but not of it; able to stand away from it and judge it in the light of principle, so as truly to influence its course. Their place is in the crowd not as nonentities, but as marked men. Only thus can they bring its members to Christ. They have been signed with the cross at baptism and they should be faithful to that sign if they are to do its redeeming work. To be in the world and of it, identified with it after the fashion of some thoughtless progressives today, is to betray Christ to the crowd and be faithless to one's vocation as a Christian.

There has been no peace inside Russia since 1917, yet the Russian Communists offer themselves to gullible democrats in the West as guardians of world peace and brotherhood. Russian imperialism is ruthless, yet even after the rape of Hungary there are those who are still taken in by their protestations of a desire to live in peaceful co-existence. There is no excuse for this blindness on the part of non-Communist peoples. They have only to read the directives of Marx and Lenin to see just what 'peace' means to a loyal Communist.

Communism and Peaceful Co-existence

H. W. HENDERSON

THE Communists have advanced many strange policies since the Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917, but none so audacious as their plea for peaceful co-existence. It is astonishing that any normal man with even the most elementary knowledge of Communist teaching should have been taken in by it.

Before dealing with Communist teaching on the question of peace and war, let us look at the matter from a common-sense point of view. Suppose that one of our neighbours was notorious for ill-treating his wife and children, was continually in conflict with those who lived beside him, had been guilty on several occasions of committing physical assault on innocent passers-by — would anyone believe him if he put himself forward as a champion of goodwill and human brotherhood? Everyone who knew his record would at once denounce him as a despicable hypocrite whose reputation proved the utter falsity of his claims. For peace, like charity, should begin at home, and those who show no love for their

family and neighbours can have no genuine love for humanity as a whole.

Conflict inside Russia

The same applies to the world's leading Communist state, the Soviet Union. Do we find this advocate of world peace to be a state in which there is social peace? Do Soviet citizens live in harmony with their rulers, or are they in a constant state of ferment, oppressed by a tyrannical government which denies them all the basic rights of a free society? We find in the Soviet Union, not universal peace and the spirit of human brotherhood, but a perpetual state of war between the ruling party and the people. The Bolsheviks, let us never forget, began their reign by declaring war on the Russian people, who never imagined when the Revolution took place, that they would soon be deprived of all the liberties they had fought for in overthrowing Tsarism. That state of war continues to the present day, and so fearful are the Communists of the people they pretend to represent, that the latter are still imprisoned for merely criticising the actions of their rulers. Freedom of political opposition does not, of course, exist.

Russian Imperialism

How has Soviet Russia behaved in her relations with neighbouring states? In the spirit of peaceful co-existence? Far from it! She has shown herself to be one of the most ruthless imperialists in history. Nine once-free European states now lie under the heel of Soviet Russia, including heroic Hungary, and their peoples are denied all true expression of their national will. So hateful to the oppressed peoples of the satellite states is the rule of Moscow that obstacles like the infamous Berlin Wall and electrified fences and mined borders have to be constructed in order to prevent the people from escaping.

It is clear, therefore, that the merest glance at Soviet Russia's record is sufficient to prove that her Communist rulers are no more concerned with genuine peaceful co-existence than were the rulers of Nazi Germany. That anyone

could think otherwise is so astonishing that we might be pardoned for supposing that pacifists who believe in the sincerity of present Communist pleas for international peace have lost all normal contact with reality. The fact must be faced, however, that immense numbers of otherwise intelligent men and women are taken in by Soviet propaganda on the theme of world peace, and it is necessary to go further into the matter and demonstrate the manner in which they are being deceived.

What does 'Peace' Mean?

First let us look at Communist theoretical teaching. Have the Communists, in accepted Communist text-books, ever advocated *permanent* peace with non-Communist states? Have they ever advocated a policy of live and let live? The answer to these questions is not in doubt. Not only have the Communist classics never advocated permanent co-existence with non-Communist states; they have always and everywhere advocated a precisely opposite policy.

In the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, still circulated in millions of copies for the instruction of the Marxist faithful, we read these words: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." Such are the words of the authors of this proclamation, Mark and Engels. They have never been retracted. They represented Communist policy to this very day.

This teaching was accepted by Lenin, and reiterated in all his major works. "Great questions in the life of nations," he said, "are settled only by force." (1) Again and again, in passages too numerous to be quoted here, he returns to this theme. Two further quotations will serve to illustrate Lenin's attitude:

"We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable."

1. Lenin: 'Two Tactics of Social Democracy', Little Lenin Library, Vol. 17.

One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable." (2)

"As long as capitalism and Socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end, one or the other will triumph — a funeral dirge will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism." (3)

Similar teaching is to be found in the works of Stalin, for example in *Problems of Leninism*, sometimes called the Soviet *Mein Kampf*. Again and Again Stalin returns to the theme that there can be no peaceful transition to 'Socialism' and that the revolution can only be accomplished by force, by what Lenin called "force — unrestricted by law." (4) This revolution, started in Russia, is, we are told, to be spread throughout the world, the Russian proletariat coming out with armed force where necessary to help the proletariat of other countries to achieve their 'liberation'. What else is our country," asks Stalin, "if not the base of the world revolution . . . a mighty base for its further development?" (5)

Stalin, it is true, is no longer with us, but his book is an interpretation of Lenin's doctrine, and no loyal Communist disputes the teaching of Lenin. Furthermore, it should be noted that while Stalin's crimes against the Russian Communists who fell foul of him were denounced by Khrushchev at the 20th Party Congress in 1956, his theoretical teaching on the theme of world revolution was not repudiated. Indeed, it could hardly be, since it is based on Lenin's doctrines, and the authority of the 'master' is constantly appealed to in Stalin's book.

2. Lenin: *Selected Works*, 1943 edition, Vol. 8.

3. Lenin: *Selected Works*, 1943 edition, Vol. 8.

4. "The scientific concept 'dictatorship' means nothing more or less than unrestricted power, absolutely unimpeded by laws or regulations, and resting directly on force. This is the meaning of the concept 'dictatorship' and nothing else." Lenin: *Selected Works*, Vol. 7. "The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is power won and maintained by the violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, power that is unrestricted by any laws." Lenin: *Selected Works*, 1934 edition, Vol. 7.

5. Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*.

Secret Preparations for War

We see, then, that Communism is not a peaceful but a militaristic philosophy, utterly rejecting peaceful solutions to the world's problems. Why then should the Communists be trumpeting from the house tops the need for world peace and the desirability of world disarmament? Could men really be so wicked as to deplore in public the horrors of war, while secretly preparing for war?

They certainly could, and the Communists are not the only ones who have done so. What was the theme of Hitler's speeches in the pre-war years? Was it not the need for world peace? Again and again the Fuehrer returned to this theme while Nazi Germany was preparing day and night for war. Anyone who had read *Mein Kampf* knew that war was the aim of Nazi Germany, but Hitler was able to hoodwink a large part of the world by his pretence that he was at heart a peaceful man and that all he desired was justice. Conference after conference was held, concession after concession was made, until at last it became clear that the democratic world was being made the victim of a gigantic confidence trick. If only the statesmen of the world had read authentic Nazi works! If only they would read, today, the authentic works of Communism!

Mr. Khrushchev gained a great reputation by preaching 'peaceful co-existence' to a world weary of war. Soon the phrase was on the lips of Western statesmen who seemed to think that the Soviet leader had put forward a completely new formula for peace. But Khrushchev was not the originator of the famous phrase. It is almost incredible, but true, that it was none other than the murderous Stalin (described by a life-long Communist, Milovan Djilas, as the greatest criminal in history'), who first publicised the famous formula for peace. While giving out Stalin Peace Prizes to many distinguished men, both in Russia and the outside world, the Soviet dictator was murdering thousands of his fellow-Communists, as all the world is now aware. We shall plumb the depths of Communist infamy!

As for Khrushchev's advocacy of peaceful co-existence, how many who glibly repeat this phrase know just what it means?

used by Communist propagandists? Briefly, it seeks to avoid nuclear war while Soviet Russia is weaker than the United States. But does it really ensure world peace?

Which Kind of War?

In discussing this question it is necessary to emphasise that the Communists make a distinction between what they call 'capitalist wars' and 'wars of liberation'. While the former are condemned, the latter are not only permitted, but encouraged. (6)

To the indoctrinated Communist, it is the 'will of history' that Communism shall triumph throughout the earth; those who resist it are 'reactionaries' fighting against human progress. There is, of course, no justification for the Communist belief that Communism will inevitably develop out of capitalism, or that this will be the final stage of human development. Indeed, all the evidence shows that wherever Communism has come to power it has done so by force alone, and that those who have had experience of it are anxious beyond all else to escape from its clutches. But since every war for the extension of Communism is by Communist definition a 'war of liberation', it is clear that while loudly proclaiming their devotion to peace, the Communists are actually preparing the biggest bloodbath in history. It is obvious that the free world will not surrender passively to the Communist 'liberators', and will therefore have to be crushed by force. How can any sane man regard this as a policy of peace?

Matter of Tactics

Although the Communists declare that the issue, Communism versus non-Communism, can only be settled by force, we are constantly met with the pacifist argument that Communism is 'an idea' and can only be conquered by 'a better idea'. But how have the Communists extended their sway over a large area of the world, ever since the Russian

"Wars of national liberation are not only permissible but inevitable. We recognise such wars; we have helped and shall go on helping the peoples fighting for freedom" Khrushchev speech in Moscow, January, 1961. (Thus make the assassin of Hungarian liberty!).

Revolution? Was it because they had a better idea which people willingly accepted? By no means. They have in every instance conquered by the sword. *They* do not believe that victory over one idea can only be obtained by putting forward a better one. Neither should we, though we should never abandon our belief that in a fair contest, (which the Communists never permit) our ideas would speedily vanquish the Communist idea of universal tyranny.

In spite of their insistence on the necessity of force and violence in vanquishing the 'class enemy', there are times when even the Communists recognise that a temporary period of peace is to their advantage. It is all a matter of tactics. Stalin observed, "Tactics change according to the ebb and flow of the revolution. Sometimes it is possible to advance; at other times it is necessary to retreat. The object of this strategy is to gain time, to demoralise the enemy, and to accumulate forces in order, later, to assure the offensive." (7) This teaching has never been repudiated. It is the very essence of Communist Policy.

The 'inevitable' war with capitalism must be postponed until the time to strike has come. "To accept battle at a time which is advantageous to the enemy and not to us is a crime," said Lenin, "and those political leaders of the revolutionary class who are unable to tack, to manoeuvre, to compromise, in order to avoid an obviously disadvantageous battle are good for nothing." (8)

An outstanding example of this strategy may be seen in Russia's dealings with the Baltic States. In the years following the Russian Revolution, when the Soviet Union was weak in comparison with the capitalist powers, the U.S.S.R. proclaimed its love of peace, and to prove its sincerity signed non-aggression pacts with these small and progressive republics. But when war broke out in 1939, and the non-Communist powers were engaged in mutual conflict, the Soviet Union seized the Baltic States and incorporated them into the U.S.S.R.

Finally, let us look at a remarkable declaration on the

7. Stalin: 'Problems of Leninism.'

8. Lenin: 'Left-Wing Communism; An Infantile Disorder.'

Communist policy of 'peaceful co-existence' made by M. Molotov, one of the ablest of the French Communist leaders. The statement was quoted in what was then the *Manchester Guardian*, (14/11/50). It was made during the Korean war:

"You will say, 'Why does not the Soviet Union intervene in Korea?' It is certain that if she did the war would soon be over and the Americans thrown into the sea. That is true, but it would start a world war which, for the time being, is contrary to the peace policy of the Soviet Union. We can be certain that a year of guaranteed peace is a year utilised to the utmost by the Soviet Union to reinforce its army and those of the popular democracies.

It is to permit this rearmament, this development of the Soviet Union's strength, as well as the strength of the popular democracies, that we must actively continue our programme in favour of peace. It is this movement for peace that will undermine the imperialist armies and delay the outbreak of war.

Do you not see that this is the best means to assure the destruction of our enemies? The Soviet Union will choose the right moment and the imperialists will have no say in the matter. You will see, therefore, how important it is to develop our action in favour of peace."

The people of the Western world long for peace more than anything else, and it is difficult to convince them that any power could be so mad as to continue its plan for world revolution in the nuclear age. It was equally difficult to convince them in the pre-war years that the German Nazis meant to carry out the plans that Hitler had clearly formulated in *Mein Kampf*. But if we wish to live as free men, and not as Communist slaves, it is well that we should pay attention to what the Communists teach and in particular, to what they mean by 'peaceful co-existence'.

This News Letter is sent four times a year to past students and friends of Claver House, and we are taking this opportunity to give it a wider circulation.

Claver House News Letter

April 19

Dear Past Students and Friends,

I have to begin on rather a sad note by telling you of the deaths of Father Vincent Rochford, who was always such a friend of Claver House and lectured to our students for some years, and, Mathias Kalenzi, who was one of the best loved students we ever had here. Father Rochford died at the end of March and Mathias towards the end of last year. I know you will not forget to pray for them both.

We are at the end now of a very long and very busy term which has gone extremely well. It is always a sign that things are going well at Claver House and the students happy when the time goes by at great speed. It has been like this this term. Today, Father Richard Schulte-Staade has just come in for a two-day visit and to tell the students about their German trip. They will be leaving on Wednesday April 10th to spend just over two weeks with our German friends. Then they come back here for the usual few days before going off to Ireland.

Douglas Hyde was with us last week giving his three-day course on Communism and, as usual, he thrilled everybody. He will be going to Ghana at the end of April and hopes to meet Claver House students during his travels in that country. So, our Ghanaian friends are advised to keep an eye out for him and to lose no opportunity of speaking with him.

For the past few weeks more reports have been coming in from past students and they are all most encouraging. The story they tell is one of hard work, well done — often at the

of great sacrifice to those who do it. This is what we expect from past students and it gives me great pleasure makes me very proud to say that they are fulfilling splendidly all our expectations. It always makes me very proud to show these records to visitors who come to Claver House and they are always impressed by the fine work that is being done. For your own information, here are some examples of the kind of work Claver House men are now doing in Africa:—

John Lephole (Claver House 1961/62): is the leading trade unionist in Lesotho and a member of the Executive Committee of the Pan African Workers Congress.

John Mahundi (Claver House 1966/67): is actively engaged in the Social Apostolate in the Archdiocese of Dar es Salaam. The same applies to Stanislaus Ndolezi (1965/66) who works with him.

James Kingstone Tiges (Claver House 1966/67): is now Headmaster of Rombo Boys' School in Kenya, and very active as secretary of a Self-Help Group at Oltepesi. The spray-race which the group is building under his leadership is near completion and he has a credit union on the way.

John Mell Kaikai (Claver House 1966/67): has begun a Dairy Co-operative Society in the Masai country in Kenya.

Joseph Spard Kuudmanuru (1966/67): is extremely active in his spare time as a teacher at Ko in Northern Ghana. He is a member of the Diocesan Commission of Work; a member also of the Supervisory Committee of the credit union at Ko which he founded and which now has 1,030 members. Its endowment capital is £24,750.

John M. Lau (1961/62): After successfully completing his studies at the Inter-American University at Puerto Rico, San Juan, Indies, is now on graduate studies with the University of New Hampshire, USA.

John Omolo (1961/62): is busy organising credit unions and co-operatives during his spare time as a Laboratory Superintendent.

John Omosa (1963/64): is an Internal Auditor with the West Usii County Council and Secretary of the West Usii

Peoples Association.

Father John Soedoena (1961/62): is Parish Priest Bolgatanga and engaged at the same time on at least two other important jobs which range from his Parish Cre Union to his position as a Magistrate in the High Court Juvenile cases.

Father Damian Chikakwa (1964/65): is Chaplain to Malawi Army and in charge of the new Social Centre Zomba.

Peter Sekhomo (1964/65): is a Labour Officer in Lesotho and his hands are full with a hundred other jobs. In spare time he gives tuition to students who have no place school.

Dismas Kalingeme (1962/63): is a Community Development Officer in Zambia and acting Town Clerk of Mbat Township. He is a member also of the Provincial Development Committee.

Abram Kargbo (1964/65): is working in the Department of Social Service of the Government of Sierra Leone. Much of his spare time is taken up with activities for youth.

Matthias Katebara (1966/67): is holding an important post in the Personnel Department of the Tea Industry in Uganda. In this capacity he moves regularly round his company's Tea Estates. He is extremely active in his spare time with a great multitude of jobs.

Japhet Nyaga (1960/61): was elected in January 1964 to the Board of the Kenya Planters Co-Operative Union Ltd. He was re-elected in December 1966.

Father Bernard Stopel (1960/61): is immensely active as a missionary in West Cameroun. He is an Adviser to Co-operative Societies and Chaplain of Catholic Action movements in his Diocese.

Richard Douglas (1960/61): is Deputy General Manager Kenya Meat Commission. Richard passed through here recently on his way to Chicago on business for the K.M.C.

Joseph Balyesiima (1966/67): is a Senior Co-operative Supervisor of his district in Hoima, Uganda.

Brother Leo Lubega (1966/67): is teaching at Kitered Secondary School for future Brothers of his congregation.

his spare time he is very busy with the youth and is doing best to prepare the people in his Parish for a credit union.

These are only some of many that have come in. I think will agree that they make up a fine record. All for now. Thank you for all you are doing and best wishes for every thing at Easter.

Always yours in Christ,

Paul Crane, S.J.

Help from the Parishes

Claver House seeks to assist the developing countries of English-speaking Africa in what is, perhaps, one of the most effective ways possible. Nine-month courses in leadership training are provided for young African laymen to enable them to play an effective part in the public life of their countries. It is difficult to see how aid given so generously from abroad can be put to the best use unless there are dedicated men on the spot who know how to do so. Claver House seeks to train such men.

The all-in cost of training a young African layman for nine months at Claver House is £590. If parish priests and their people would like to consider bearing this cost in the case of one student — thereby adopting him, so to say — the rector would be more grateful than he could easily say. If you are interested write please to the Rev. Paul Crane, S.J., Claver House, 65, Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1.

CURRENT COMMENT

The action of the Lords in throwing out the Order extending sanctions against Rhodesia has been represented as interference with the people's will. In the opinion of Father Crane, this is not the case. His reasons are contained in this month's "Current Comment". There are further notes on the current student unease and the surge of violence which appears to have caught some priests in Latin America in its grip.

Issues True and False

THE EDITOR

THE action of the Lords on June 18th in throwing out the Order extending sanctions against Rhodesia can be regarded in two ways. One view was publicized in the motion tabled by Labour back-benchers on the previous evening, "That this House believes the time is ripe for the abolition of the House of Lords". To such as these the action of the Conservative Peers constituted a flagrant violation of the popular will as expressed through the Commons. The Peers themselves would argue, however, that this is precisely, was the point at issue. Few, today, would uphold the proposition that Mr. Wilson's Government is in any way representative of the people of this country. The Local Government Elections showed the tide against the Government in the Spring and the bye-elections have maintained a very strong, anti-government trend, which has been built up and maintained since the devaluation of the pound sterling last November. This being the case, it would seem to be the Government's constitutional duty not to introduce legislation which flies in the face of popular opinion. The present is no time for controversial Bills. Under the British system government is meant to take note of the wishes of the opposition. It should never ride roughshod over them. This

re than ever the case at a time when, as in Britain today, Opposition is more representative of the popular mood than Government itself. The Lords took their stand, therefore, to remind Mr. Wilson and his colleagues of their present constitutional duty. It was not mere cussedness, but a well-d sense of responsibility that caused them to act as they did. History will judge who came closer to the constitutional proprieties in this affair — the Labour Government when it introduced the Order or the Opposition when it threw it out. There is no doubt but that the Lords acted correctly. They did it as their duty to remind Mr. Wilson and his colleagues of their constitutional responsibilities. With this end in view, they made use of the only way open to them of dealing with a Government that is as insensitive as it is unrepresentative. It was to use their delaying power to force a reconsideration of controversial legislation. To depict such an action in terms of thwarting the popular will is no more than nonsense.

The Lords and the Popular Will

In acting as they did the Lords showed themselves more aware of constitutional properties and, to this extent, more fully representative of the people of this country than Mr. Wilson and his colleagues. Their action, far from serving as an excuse for the abolition of the Upper House, should make any wise parliamentarian all the more anxious to preserve it in being. It is understandable that Labour backbenchers, who see the House of Lords only as a bastion of privilege, should regard any check it gives to the Commons as an act of class war. There might have been ground for this assumption before the first world war and even before the second. There can be none now. Evidence is accumulating to the effect that the real enemies of the people are not the Lords, but the materialistically-minded bourgeois technocrats and their friends in the Labour Party who see Parliament as more than an instrument for the State direction of citizens' lives and whose real objection to the Lords is not that it opposes the will of the people, but that it stands for the people against the direction of their lives demanded by

The Plan. This will become clearer if and when the Labour Government take further issue with the Labour Government over clauses in the Transport Bill which were guillotined so scandalously through the Lower House.

The Real Issue Today

Perhaps the main point that emerges from the above is that political issues, as debated at present in Parliament, are wrongly understood as based on class differences between Parties. The real issue today is best understood as between people of all classes and Parliament, not as an organ of representative government, but in its new and unwanted guise as an instrument of centralized planning. The question today is not which Party should govern, but how, indeed, government itself should be carried out. The answer being given by people of every class is increasingly in favour of devolution and against the built-up centralization of the post-war years—a process for which Conservative and Labour Governments are both responsible. It is, therefore, not merely foolish but misleading to talk today of political shifts in terms of Right and Left; as, for example, those who do not classify as “right-wing” Enoch Powell’s advocacy of competitive devolution as a remedy for this country’s economic ills. This conjures up for many the vision of preparation being made for a “Fascist” take-over of Britain. In reality, if there is any danger of Fascism in this country, it is to be found in Mr. Wilson’s brand of State Capitalism and not in the kind of devolution advocated not only by Enoch Powell but by many others who are far from sharing the whole of his beliefs. The real question we in this country have to face, therefore, is not who shall govern, but what government is really about. The struggle at present is not between classes but between citizens of all classes and governments, both Tories and Labour, that encroach increasingly over their liberties and their lives.

Impersonality and the Students

It is this that the students have come dimly to realize. Underneath the silliness of a great many of their demands

the arrogance with which they are presented, their self-
redness and revoltingly bad manners, the naivete of their
posals for political and social reform, one detects a deep
se, subconsciously felt by many, that society is being
ed without them, its course determined by faceless men,
see citizens as no more than pawns in the game they
to maintain in being an increasingly impersonal mass
al order dominated almost wholly by themselves. In the
of the students — particularly, perhaps, in the case of
e from Germany — there is little to choose between the
e Capitalism of the Soviet Union and the Monopoly
italism of the West. Each appears to rest on a basis of
ersonality which allows little scope for real individual
icipation. In this way, true democracy appears to many
ents as scarce in the West as it is in the East; in neither
is there room for the significant participation of the
vidual in what goes on around him; he feels little more
a tool of the powerful, allowed no part in decisions that
ct his life. He finds himself alienated (in the sense used
the young Marx) from contemporary society, dominated,
t is, by the strict yet impersonal controls of increasingly
incompetent government. So far as many students are
cerned, Stalinist State Capitalism and private Monopoly
italism are on all fours in their impersonal denial of
ossible participation — and, therefore, of personal fulfil-
nt — to the individual citizen. In despair, students in
ny countries have hoisted the black flag of anarchy, made
e Guevara their hero and taken as their bible the now
uous text of Régis Debray, *The Revolution in the Revolu-*
z. They have learnt nothing positive from the example of
one or the words of the other and the reason for this
simple; neither has anything positive to give. In Paris
t May their attempts were confined to the violent smashing
the Gaullist regime. They produced nothing positive to
t in its place. Their insurrection folded because they were
hout an alternative.

Intellectual Laziness

There is an indication here of an intellectual laziness of

frightening proportions. It is this that I find most irritating about current student disturbances. One could forgive me if they appeared to have a single constructive thought on their heads, but of this there is no evidence. Demonstrations for most students, are not in aid of constructive thinking with regard to the future shape of society. They appear rather as a cheap and exciting substitute for the hard work demonstrators should be putting in to acquire the knowledge of social and political principles and practice that would enable them after their student days were done — and, even before — to set about the task of influencing the structure of the society in which they live. For this, indeed, is possible. Man is not the total prisoner of his environment, shaped entirely by what lies about him. Lenin himself gave no lie to this absurdity of Marx's teaching when he touched off the ten days that shook the world. And there have been many, many others — good where Lenin was bad — who have brought light to the lives of so many and left this world the better for their passing. But all this requires hard, unflagging effort; not stunts but dedications; not gimmicks but the quiet, thrustful questing that never ceases. It is, of course, exciting to go to Moscow and distribute leaflets in the streets calling for freedom for political and religious prisoners. I admire the courage of the three who did it. I admire still more the unflagging devotion in all countries of the very few who work night and day in the world of trade unions and politics to bring the light of Christian principles to bear on contemporary politics. These get no thanks and they get no publicity; no blaze of glory for them on this earth; simply the knowledge that God knows — "give me Thy love and Thy grace for this is enough for me". It is these who count. One asks how many students are prepared to be like them. In all probability, a considerable number. It is the protesting, intolerant few who are setting the present silly tone, making a God of violence and witnessing by their actions to their belief in the horrible doctrine that the end justifies the means; that, provided your cause is good, you may use any methods you like in its pursuit. Bashing a policeman is "in" provided it helps make your point to the

ic. This is straight from Debray out of Marx and Engels taught that, for a Communist, those actions alone are l that assist the Party's fortunes. The rest, according to x, was bourgeois nonsense. His followers say the same y.

is and Student Violence

et, one need not look as far back as Marx. Universities his country have long been secularized. The dons have ironed God and sneered at Christian morality, which s its origin from God's Law. They should be the last take surprise at the horde of young barbarians, which their oral teaching has loosed on society and now, in the first ance, on themselves and their venerable institutions. I led a little bitterly as I read the other day of the Vice-cancellors' Conference—in a secret place and behind closed rs, seeking a way out from the student onslaught produced, ase, by the godless teaching of their institutions and now sed on themselves. One thought of the old Roman Senators ering out to parley with the young barbarian hordes, th young brutes who had come sweeping down from the rth to cut through the dying decay that was Rome in its , sickening days. "We have been taught", said a mber of the executive of a student union recently, "to stion, question, question. Scientifically we are told there o right, no wrong, no truth. Naturally, our values are not se of the older generations. If something doesn't seem make sense we challenge it". The arrogance here is not ant, I think. It remains appalling — I am the judge of nt and wrong; I will decide. This is subjectivism run d. The outcome could well be anarchy and the inevitable mination in the end of society by the strong. The students pleading for democracy. In fact and without even know- it they are opening the way to distatorship.

ests and Violence

Advocacy of violence these days is not confined to students. ests and prelates in the Church, especially in Latin erica, are flirting with it. In some cases, the former have

even gone over to the gun as the only means open to them of securing justice for the poor. In this they could not be more misled than they are. The two Maryknoll priests, for example, who linked up with the guerrillas in Guatemala then resigned from the priesthood when Superiors questioned their action, were not merely naive but quite superficial in their approach to the problems that confronted them. What they appear to have lacked, under God, was appropriate training for their missionary task and a right sense of strategy. In their zeal for reform, they sought to do *for* the people those things which they ought first to have done *with* the people, then left them to do for themselves. They plunged into the task, to imagine, to do all for everyone, when they ought first to have pulled out the few for adequate training with a view to the leadership of their fellowmen, in this case the poor of the Central American countryside. Had the two Maryknoll priests spent six months selecting six good young lay candidates for training as rural leaders, then trained them on the spot, then sent them in amongst their own people to lead them, the whole story might well have been a different one. It ended in tragedy because, at base, the two priests were paternalistic, unprogressive in outlook, that is, because unacquainted with the technique of leadership training and lacking the background knowledge, in all probability, as well as the patience to evolve the sound kind of strategy that requires lay leadership if it is to achieve its overall objectives. They tried to do too much too soon. They skimmed a wide surface when they should have been digging deep over a restricted area. When their efforts appeared to bear little fruit and the injustice against which they rightly fought remained, they tended to think, to despair; then linked with the guerrillas as a last resort. This is how it appeared to them; but, in fact, it was not a last resort. They lacked the background knowledge and the strategic approach which were essential from the first if they were to overcome the problems that beset them.

There are large issues here, especially in the matter of missionary training. Little that is effective has been done since the Council to resolve them.

A recent report containing indisputable facts has shocked America. It states that there are ten million hungry Americans. And this is hardly surprising when we discover that more money is spent on poodles and pets than is spent on food stamps for the poor. . . Babies weigh less at a year old than they did at birth. . . Men eat clay and laundry starch to fill out their inferior diets. The Americans are a great and generous people, they will put an end to these evils.

Ten Million Hungry Americans

E. L. WAY

IN the middle of the winter of 1965 a significant incident took place in the state of Mississippi. An abandoned Air Force base in Greenville was stormed by 35 hungry Negroes. Federal troops promptly chased them off. There was the usual escape of hot air in editorials and news commentaries. The Negroes said, "We are here because we are hungry and cold and we have no jobs or land." The Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Agriculture immediately increased the distribution of food, the wider sale of food stamps, and other forms of aid to the Negroes of Mississippi. But the condition of the poor in that state was not really changed. The Government of the United States was naturally embarrassed to learn that there were Americans so hungry as to be desperate enough to seize federal property. But, I repeat, nothing really changed for the poor of Mississippi. A year later a Commission from the Civil Rights people went down to see how the state was coping with its poor, and discovered that the much-vaunted food-stamp programme merely annoyed and distressed the poor. They

did not have the money to buy the stamps: it was as simple as that.

Investigation

Another investigation was undertaken. A subcommittee on poverty, employment, and manpower, headed by Joseph Clark, senator from Pennsylvania, conducted a further inquisition in Mississippi. The senators were horrified by what they saw. They reported, "There is clear evidence of acute malnutrition and hunger among families in the Mississippi Delta. Many families subsist without discernible income and cannot afford to meet the minimum purchase requirements for food stamps." Not content with so much evidence, a delegation of doctors was sent into Mississippi by the Field Foundation and the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty. They fully documented the facts. They said, "We saw homes with children who are lucky to eat one meal a day, and that one inadequate so far as vitamins, minerals or protein is concerned. We saw children who don't get a drink of milk, don't get to eat fruit, green vegetables, or meat. They live on starches — grits, bread, Kool Aid. Their parents may be declared ineligible for the food-stamp program, even though they have literally nothing. We saw children fed communally — that is by neighbours who give scraps of food to children whose own parents have nothing to give them." While the poor, as always, were saving those worse off than themselves, the U.S. government was carrying on a campaign against the overweight G.I.s in the Forces in England. "Don't overeat, Mac, you'll have a coronary."

*"Hunger, U.S.A." **

Worse disclosures were to come. In August, 1967 a report showed that 80 per cent of a sample of poor children in Washington County were anaemic. From the invasion of the Air Force base at Greenville by 35 Negroes until the present moment the facts have been piling up steadily. The

* The document was prepared by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States.

ve been written into a 100-page document called *Hunger, S.A.* They cannot be disputed. Even the Department of Agriculture, which comes in for a good lashing in the document, does not deny the main findings.) There are 256 "emergency hunger counties" stretching from Florida to Washington and from New York to Arizona. The Board found that each year thousands of infants die from starvation in the U.S.A. It reported that "many Americans eat laundry starch and clay to fill out their inferior diets." A senator who toured the Mississippi Delta area blurted out: "I didn't know that we are going to be dealing with the situation of starving people and starving youngsters." (The conditions in Mississippi, though admittedly extreme, were found time and again to be duplicated all over the country.)

Wealthy Nation

"A thousand people," the document states "who must go without food for days each month would be shocking to a wealthy nation. . . We believe that, in America, the number reaches well into millions. And we believe that the situation is worsening." Here are a few examples given in the report. From San Antonio: "I have seen children. . . three, four, and five years old, all weighing 20 pounds. . ." Infants have been found who weighed seven pounds at 12 months after birth; and others who at a year old weighed less than they did when they were born. From New York city: "Many old people are hungry. Some 'chew gum in lieu of food because they cannot afford food. The ageing are unwilling to use their scant savings for everyday needs such as food'. From New Orleans: "A thousand persons living in tarpaper shacks surrounding the city dump relied upon the food they scavenged there for survival." These are specific instances, but the document states that they are repeated in the lives of 10 million Americans. "In all likelihood the number is substantially higher."

Rice and Beans

A staff correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor* tells the story of three young Negroes living only a few

blocks from the Capitol. Chester Smith, age 5, Herman Smith, age 7, and John Smith, age 10, live at home largely on a diet of rice and beans. "On rare occasions, their grandmother had some meat — usually the cheapest cuts, parts of animals most white people never dream are edible." Friday nights were the worst, because Friday was payday, and the previous week's money never lasted a week. They were very hungry until the paypacket arrived at about 8 p.m. While their grandmother looked after them, the mother being ill in hospital, the children were unable to go to school because they had no shoes to wear. When the mother returned home, she got a steady job and the kids went to school and had free hot lunches. "It's real good," said Herman, describing his first hot lunch at school.

All this may be news to many, but it will not come as a surprise to those who read Michael Harrington's *The Other America*. He had let us into the secret that in the so-called Affluent Society of America there are some fifty million poor. Six years after his book was published, his case has been proved up to the hilt. Radicals, however much they may be laughed at for their idealism, and the absurdity of some of their solutions, at least do not pretend as do their political enemies first that nothing is wrong, and second if anything is wrong that this is not the opportune time to remedy it. Our Master never sent away the hungry and the sick, advising them to wait for the coming of the health service or the Beveridge plan. He took compassion on them, and satisfied their needs. (A first instalment of Beveridge is overdue in America as a second instalment is in Britain.)

A Nation's Priorities

What is the record of the United States Government on this terrible problem? Last year it took Congress seven months to spend \$185 million on the food stamp programme. But in the last ten years, Congress permitted 655 billion to be paid to landowners *not* to produce food, and to raise the prices of certain commodities. What kind of moral lunacy is this? Ten million people hungry, and farmers paid not to produce food. Have we learnt nothing at all in the last

thirty years ? For this is what we were doing in the 'thirties : burning wheat and coffee, and throwing food into the sea, rather than sell it to the starving at an uneconomic price. Invincible ignorance is clearly not confined to doctrinal matters.

Income Distribution

The present distribution and spending of income in the U.S. fits neatly into this pattern of universal lunacy. The fortunate 5 per cent of the population receives 20 per cent of the income, and the poverty-stricken 20 per cent of the population gets only 5 per cent of the income. The Under-secretary for Commerce told an audience at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May this year, "We spend as much for chewing gum as for model cities. We spend as much on hair dye as for grants to urban mass transit. We spend as much on pet food as on food stamps for the poor. We spend more on tobacco than government at all levels spend on higher education. We spend \$300 million for costume jewelry and quarrel over \$10 million for the Teachers Corps." Can we smile at the fortunes made by chewing gum merchants, and not be appalled at the squalor of the tarpaper shacks ? Can we encourage the hair dye manufacturers to grow rich, and not be dismayed as urban transport grinds to a halt ? Can we be indulgent to our poodles while babies weigh less a year after birth than they did when they were born ? Here is private affluence amidst public squalor. And if it is true that this is the kind of society we want, let us at least have the humanity not to enforce the carrot for the well-off and the water-cannon and the truncheon for the hungry. The philosophy of competition as imposed on the well-fed and the expensively educated, and on the starving and ill-educated, with all the penalties inflicted on the unsuccessful in a 'competitive' society, is a philosophy of repulsive cruelty dressed up in eye-catching economic vestments.

Catalogue of Millionaires

A poverty march, the third in American history, is at the moment of writing bearing down on Washington. The poor

will camp out all the summer under canvas and plywood lean-tos not far from the Lincoln Memorial and its reflecting pool. That pool will reflect one kind of society. In the May issue of the *Fortune* magazine another kind of society is reflected. One kind cannot do without the other. They are like Siamese twins. Tremendous wealth begets tremendous poverty. In the *Fortune* magazine are listed two Americans worth \$1 billion to \$1.5 billion, half a dozen millionaires from \$500 million to \$1 billion, and 58 between \$150 million and \$500 million. They don't need to eat clay or laundry starch to ease the pangs of hunger. They don't eat the 'inedible parts' of animals. They do not see milk twice a month, if they are lucky.

The Americans could do away with poverty, that is they could lift all above the arbitrary poverty level, by the "redistribution of less than 3 per cent of disposable U.S. personal income" according to some sociologists. Siamese twins can only be parted by extensive surgery. Perhaps the rich and poor in America are not in that category. The Americans are a great and a generous people, they will put an end to these evils.

MONTHLY REPORT

The tragedy of a rural culture in collision with a high-powered civilisation is the theme of this article. D. W. Lloyd tells of the passing of villages of charm, the erection in their places of box-like dwellings inhabited by people who belong neither to the town nor country. He writes of the replacement of the Squires by the Bankers, auctioneers, and lawyers, of factory-farming and Agricultural Experimental stations which seem to have destroyed all feeling for the land, of the delicious food that used to be eaten compared to the tin-pot rubbish which is now the daily fare of the people.

Lament for a Dying Culture

D. W. LLOYD

DURING the period between the two major wars of this century, the farmers of rural Wales possessed two clear ambitions. One was to obtain the best possible education for their children, the other was to have the largest memorial in the cemetery. Both these concepts were closely associated with social status. Of course, to be considered "respectable" was also important, this being an inhibitive "hangover" from the Victorian Era.

Today, there are not so many farmers goaded by these ambitions. Since Education, and University Education in particular, has become heavily subsidised by the central Government, the rural attitude has grown a little more sophisticated towards improving the mental attributes.

With regard to the second driving ambition of the inhabitants of rural Wales, the large and costly stone in the cemetery is losing its social significance. The values of urban England have penetrated deep into the peaceful retreats of valleys and streams. It is now more desirable to show oneself in an

expensive car and to have a diversity of machinery littering the farmyard, as well as possessing the latest in T.V. sets. The medium of television, despite the spirit of resurgent Nationalism, is slowly wrapping the past ideals of Wales into a standardised kind of "mental blinkers", which also fits so many of the goggling eyes of the inhabitants of the British Isles.

Factory Farming

Today, the farmer, in a big way or otherwise, avidly pockets any Government subsidy he can obtain. In so many cases, he despoils the land in the manner of a locust, who has taken to eating the roots of grass. No longer does he think of feeding it with good straw manure (the fine horses of plough and cart have been long forgotten on the day they went to the knacker's yard, the producers of this self-same manure), and the cleansing and beneficial results of underground limestone. It is the Age of the "Bag" and of factory-farming. There is no "feeling" for the land.

Without doubt, this new farming has given jobs to those who work in Artificial Insemination Centres and the various Agricultural Experimental Stations. By the way, lest it be forgotten, the compulsory testing for Tuberculosis in Cattle in Wales made a fortune for Veterinary Surgeons and cost the taxpayer millions. Alas, after all this, many cowsheds are dirty. Some farmers are far from particular about their person and clothes, before milking. There is still the scandal of young calves, exposed to considerable cruelty before slaughter. Apart from dairy-farming, sheep and ponies still starve on the hillsides, during a hard Winter. The survivors are a source of subsidy for their owners, who conveniently ignore their existence, during the period of snow and ice. Battery poultry still peck one another to death, searching for vitamins, which no chemical food seems to supply. Thus, despite the emphasis placed on modernisation, the personal element is often overlooked in our ability to mouth glib catchwords and phrases.

Today, the average farmer no longer cares about ditching or hedging, unless these skills can be done by a machine.

The Salesmen of England, if they have achieved nothing else, have destroyed the farmer's pride in the traditional crafts. One of the saddest things of Welsh rural life, despite the stimulus of the Eisteddfod, is the inability of the farmer to amuse himself without the television set. The home remains, after all, the basis of a nation's culture. The cinema has long done its work in this direction. The Welsh farmer is absorbing a vulgarised English-cum-American culture.

Then and Now

Until the second world war, Welsh agriculture, due to the expedient policies of the English Central Government since 1880, was "stagnated". The farmers were poor; but they enjoyed the pleasure of honest toil and also relished wholesome butter, home-cured hams, abundant milk and vegetables, wholemeal bread and delicacies composed of such foodstuffs as oat-meal, blended with butter milk, sweetened by clover or heather honey. All the milk, as is too familiar, now departs in the churn. Imported vegetables and tinned foods are in vogue and the hospitals seem to be fuller. Some farmers suffer from heart-disease due to sitting on their tractors too long. Not many indulge in such occupations as folk dancing. A few hunt the fox. There is a certain amount of organised pigeon-shooting, and much poaching where salmon and trout streams and rivers are available.

It would seem that the husbandmen of Wales are gradually being "brain-washed" to become a part of the larger European Community, tied to the whims of International Banks and the vagaries of politicians. They are being told to have larger farms, which are surely a blueprint for communal farms. So far, no enterprising Local Education Committee has arranged Extra-Mural classes in French, German and Italian and Dutch for the farming community. However, for those farmers, who live the "old way", there seems little future; but it was men like these, who made the sturdy independent yeoman farmer of Wales, the guardian of his country's natural values and individual charm.

Statistics and Shoddy

Is not our Industrial Society demanding too high a price for its existence at the expense of the country-dweller who, at heart, is conservative in his intentions? The average farmer is confused by the mass of statistics thrown at him by Government Departments and the endless patter on such topics as fats and solids in milk and hormone treatment for cattle and other animals. Rural Wales is at the mercy of the advertiser to "plug" his chemical products for "progressive" farming and sometimes, it may seem, poisonous farming.

It is the same with the farmhouse which echoes the frills of the Better Home magazines. The old solidness of farmhouse furniture and simple decor has been replaced by highly veneered oddments and garish wallpaper and over-bright curtains. Rural Wales has been a wonderful market for the sale of shoddy consumer goods, which have in no way improved the personal contentment of its inhabitants.

As far as religion, in the conventional sense, is concerned, there is the Chapel and its fast diminishing hold on the general morality of its followers. The mass-production of birth-control devices has shattered many restraints. The Church in Wales exists, but it does not seem to be overwhelmed with adherents or have a numerous following in the countryside, except on the occasion of funerals, baptisms and weddings. But the Old Mother Church of Rome has an increasing number of conversions. This may be due to two reasons: firstly, there is the positive attitude of the Roman Catholic Church on all matters. Secondly, there is the Missionary zeal of its priests and their celibate state which puts them apart from ordinary mortals, and this is a necessity for men, who deal with the mysteries of the after life. One could also add that Wales was, as we all know, one of the few places in the long period of the Dark Ages, where the flames of the Church yet flickered. The Welsh adapted the tenets of the Church of Rome to suit their own needs, rather than the other way.

With surprising fertility, the Welsh countryside continues to send its seemingly endless flow of youth as teachers and doctors and clergymen to the corners of the globe. This

perpetual Exodus will always be a tragedy; but it is manifestly a part of the official policy of the Central Government.

Nationalism

The political attitude of the average Welsh farmer is rather indecisive. His arguments turn him to the Left, but his heart remains Conservative. But it is a conservatism which finds its solace in Nationalism — a Nationalism, which must be interpreted in a wider sense. Nationalism, as the world sees it, had its birth with the dynamics of the French Revolution. Welsh Nationalism in the wider connotation of the words goes back to the distant history of these Islands, when Welsh was the language of the country people of the greater part of Britain. The town-dweller of distant days absorbed the urban culture of Rome and, thus, as far as Britain has been concerned, it was from those times that there has been the division between rural Britain and the Town. One can therefore say that Welsh Nationalism is a reversal to the old pre-Roman days, a form of cultural atavism. Despite all prophecies to the contrary, Welsh Nationalism will offer its challenge to the highly complex existence of this Age, a way of life, which has been made possible by the exploitation of countless non-literate Peoples.

Touching the cultivation of the land of Wales, so little attention has been given to the various "Catch-Crops", which may increase the variety of Welsh agricultural produce. Much research and action is necessary in this field, as well as unbounded imagination and official goodwill.

At the present time, Wales still consists of many small-holdings. Often, near the coastal belt of the Principality, where there were Norman Lordships, there are many large farms. Also, where there have been Monasteries, the farms are more extensive than normal. They have usually been drained and "stone-walled" by patient monks of long ago, and, one must add, well-farmed. The system of "green-manuring" *was apparently familiar to most* Monastic Orders.

The greater part of the Estates of the former Princes of North and South Wales have parted from their descendants to yeoman farmers. At the moment English farming

Companies are penetrating into Wales and are attempting to amalgamate the smaller farms. How long will they last? Welsh land may be cheap from the English viewpoint, but, in the end, it is often "dear" land. Again, the general condition of farm buildings in the Principality, although improving, leaves much to be desired. For some reason, Peoples of Celtic descent have no taste in architecture, utilitarian or otherwise. This is a notorious fact. What Castles, Cathedrals or fine houses the visitor beholds remain the outcome of alien influences. Actual poverty may well have been the cause, as well as the argumentative disposition of the Celt, which is more suited to the Pulpit and the political arena. Nor does the original Iberian inhabitant of Wales seem to have been any better in his aesthetic tastes.

The Gentry have Departed

The traditional Welsh Gentry, with few exceptions, have completely collapsed. Whatever were their faults, they provided a leadership and a certain dignity in their respective Counties. They also gave local employment, and many mansions were the "Training Colleges" for crafts of every kind. The passing of the Gentry has also deprived Wales of many beautiful gardens, now wildernesses or converted into pig or cattle yards. Many Welsh Squires improved the Arts of husbandry in general, at considerable financial loss to themselves. Some had fine libraries and a notable collection of pictures and antiques.

The decay of the Welsh Gentry was due to their habit of trying to live on the uncertain and small incomes of their estates in the style of their English counterparts. They appeared oblivious of the fact that the latter generally depended on the rents of their prosperous town properties. The English landlords have generally tended to use the annual proceeds of their urban possessions and investments in a then growing British Empire to support their country seats. Touching on the Gentry of Wales, one must never forget that they were a part of the "Landscape", always there and always approachable. For historical reasons, the Feudal System and its consequent "class-consciousness"

ever took a serious hold in the Principality.

The few Poles, Germans and Italians, who have taken to the hazards of Welsh Farming, are gradually being integrated into the life of their adopted community. Wales has made them welcome, realising that they have something to offer from their respective culture.

Before the destruction of the wild rabbits by a contagious disease, the smallholder of Wales derived much of his income from the trapping and sale of these conies. To supplement this loss of income, the Welsh farmer and his wife have learned to concentrate their attention on paying-guests, with such attractions as "Pony-trekking" and the usual fishing and boating, not to mention the fine Golf Clubs, which are often close at hand. To cater for the visitor, many farm-houses have installed "Hot and Cold", "Oil-fired" heating, and indoor sanitation plus electricity.

Electricity

Electricity, more than any other improvement, has opened a new world to the rural farming community of Wales. It has given it, so to speak, a "new dimension" of washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and, inevitably television. In the way of many modern improvements, the "New Dimension" has destroyed personal values and easy social relationships, such as communal crop-harvesting and general neighbourliness. But the rapid transformation of an almost non-specialised community, (rural Wales was not truly a Peasant Society), into a specialised one, has produced a social malaise.

What is the average Welsh countryman's attitude towards the dormitory towns and "villages" gnawing away at his diminishing acres or the various caravan-sites massed over the coast of Cambria? While a few years ago there was indifference, today the people of Wales are uniting generally against the vandalism which is destroying their heritage. But it is the townsman, who is more voiciferous concerning the rape of Wales, when it should be the other way.

Slowly, but with certainty, villages of charm are being officially ruined by the local Councils with box-like dwellings

and a minimum of garden space. No provision is made for these Council-house dwellers in the way of parks and other amenities suitable for youth and age alike. Often these Council-houses are not occupied by farm-workers or people connected in any way with things agricultural. Thus, in this rather crude manner, the Welsh countryside is receiving a race of human beings, which belong neither to the town nor the country. Consider the latter statement, as you will; it needs no comment.

The tragedy of a rural population coming into contact with a high-powered civilisation lies in fact that the former tends to reject all the past values as "old-fashioned" and to accept the new with thoughtless abandon. This has been the case with rural Wales for several decades. The "fermenting" process is still working. (Such a happening is taking place, for example, in Sardinia at the present time.) A more sophisticated country such as England has learned to live with the Old and the New.

However, Welsh farming, in the way of every industry, which has to face the modern world, must be pictured against a backcloth of Bankers, Lawyers and Auctioneers. The members of these three professions loom forever in the Welsh farmer's life and mind. His relationship towards them is a kind of mixture of love and hate; but he needs them as much as they need him. All the same, they are not the kindest of substitutes for the more beneficent of the Squierarchy of the past. In conclusion, one wonders where the kindest of substitutes for the more beneficent of the economic and political pressures of the vast Empire ordered by the Dollar of the United States.

INDUSTRIAL ANGLE

In this the first of two articles on the unions, Dr. Jackson considers the legal position of unions, the making of collective bargains into formal contracts, the relations between the worker and the union; and he also examines the problems connected with the very structure of union organisation in this country. And in dealing with this latter question shows that the power of the shop steward arises out of his much closer relationship with the people he represents than that which exists between branch officials and their union members.

What Kind of Economic System ?

(7) The Trade Unions (i)

J. M. JACKSON

[T is less than a century and a half since the trade unions were given a measure of legal recognition — that is they were at least tolerated, and their members and officials were free from the threat of prosecution merely because they acted in collaboration. With the repeal of the old laws against combinations of workpeople, a group of trade unionists could only be prosecuted for such acts as might have been illegal if done by an individual acting entirely on his own. They still had a long and bitter battle ahead to obtain recognition of the employers. In many sectors of industry, employers were still reluctant to negotiate with the unions at the time of the first world war; and, indeed, there are some sectors even today where employers are still grudging in their recognition of the trade unions and their right to bargain on behalf of their members.

Legal Privileges

During the present century, the unions have gained not only legal recognition but a very greatly privileged position in law. The trade unions are now completely free from any threat of being sued in respect of wrongful actions committed by them.⁽¹⁾ In particular, a union is free of any threat of an action for damages from an employer who is injured if the union calls out his workers on strike. If they are brought out on strike without giving the period of notice required before terminating their employment, the workers themselves are in breach of contract, and may be sued for damages. In normal circumstances, anyone who induces another person to break a contract may be sued for damages as well as the person actually breaking his contract. Often this will be a more effective remedy. If the trade unions could be sued, they might be in possession of funds which would enable them to pay damages, whereas individual workers may have few resources behind them. In the early years of the century, damages were in fact given against a railway union in the Taff Vale case, and the present legal privileges were given to the trade unions by the 1906 Trade Disputes Act which reversed the law in this respect as far as the unions were concerned.

In addition, a less far-reaching privilege was conferred on trade union officials and members. They were exempted from actions in so far as they were acting in the course of a trade dispute. For a while the position was obscured by the *Rookes v. Barnard* case, where damages were awarded against a number of trade union members who brought pressure to bear on B.O.A.C. to dismiss Rookes, who had ceased to be a union member.⁽²⁾ This ruling has, however,

(1) This is qualified to some extent in respect of the union's position as a property owner. It may be sued if a passer-by is injured by a falling chimney from the union building if there had been negligence. But it cannot be sued in respect of the things it does as a union.

(2) Rookes's dismissal by B.O.A.C. was not itself ground for action against B.O.A.C. because he was given the appropriate period of notice and there was thus no breach of contract. The union members were liable because they had threatened to strike without first using the grievance procedure, a requirement which had been written into the individual contracts of employment. They were thus threatening to strike in breach of their contracts, an illegal act.

been reversed by subsequent legislation. So it is again clear that, if there is a trade dispute, union members are unlikely to be liable to be sued for wrongful acts done in the name of the union. The union itself is absolutely immune from proceedings, whether or not there is a trade dispute. Thus in fact the union could publish a libel in its journal without fear of an action, though in such a case the individuals responsible would, of course, still be liable.

It would be easy to argue that this wide immunity is unreasonable. What is more important, however, is whether unions and their members should be exempted from an action for damages when they have called a strike in breach of contract. This in fact raises major issues. It is not merely a question of whether unions should be sued for inducing workers to break their contracts. It raises also the question of whether collective bargaining should remain as it is, a gentlemen's agreement, with the only legally binding contract that between the individual employer and the individual workman. Should the collective bargain be a more formal agreement than at present, with perhaps a definite period of currency and with the union accepting a measure of responsibility for the observation of the terms of the agreement during its period of currency.

A Formal Contract

There is much to be said for making collective bargains into formal agreements. There might well need to be changes in the nature and subject matter of the agreements as a result. There would need to be specific agreement, committed to writing, on matters which at present are either not covered at all by the negotiations or on which there is some kind of vague understanding — so vague that there is bound to be trouble if a dispute arises at plant level. The agreements made in the United States, for example, are extremely detailed. There are precise rules laid down for shop stewards, governing such matters as the time they may devote to union affairs, their payment, and so on. There are also detailed rules governing the order of pay-off if there

should be redundancy. In this country, the threat of redundancy may cause workers to get uneasy, and there may be all kinds of unofficial action. We must, however, face the problems of redundancy. It is no use trying to suggest that firms should carry more workers than they really need. That way lies national suicide. In an economy where full employment is being maintained, the task should be to facilitate the movement of workers from firms where they are redundant to firms that need more labour, and there should be a well-established and recognised procedure for facilitating this movement. It should not be left until redundancies occur to decide whether the rule should be last in first out, or whether shop stewards should take their place with other workers or whether they should be the last to go.

There should also be a well-defined and speedy procedure for dealing with disputes that arise over the interpretation of agreement. At present, there may be a well-defined procedure, but it is rarely swift, and there may be no provision for dealing with the matter if there should be a continuing dispute at the highest level. With more detailed agreements, the chances of resolving the dispute would be much better. There could, for example, be provision for arbitration on all matters of interpretation. This is the position in a good many countries.

There is also a great deal to be said in favour of the American system which sets a definite term to the agreements between unions and employers. From the employers' point of view, there would be considerable advantage in knowing that wage costs were not going to increase for a year, eighteen months or two years. The union would be required to do all it could to ensure that its members honoured the terms of the agreement, and certainly could not submit a claim for increased pay that was intended to come into force before the expiry of the current agreement. It is unlikely that the unions themselves would lose by this type of agreement. If the rate of increase in money wages were to be slowed down, what the workers lost through this might be more than recovered as a result of a slowing down of the pace of inflation.

The Union and the Worker

Relations between the union and the members it is supposed to represent are far from perfect at the present time. Two points call for particular attention. First, there is the question of the freedom of the individual in the face of demands for a closed or union shop. The second concerns the remoteness of the official union leadership from the rank and file membership. We may begin by taking the former of these two points.

Unions, and many union members, dislike the "free-rider", the person who they consider to be enjoying the benefits gained by the union without contributing anything to the union. In so far as a union is essential to the winning of social justice for the mass of workers, it must be admitted that there may be some kind of moral obligation on a worker to join the appropriate union. If, however, the union is engaged upon activities which go beyond what is necessary for this purpose, then it may well be that the right of a man to refrain from supporting such activities must be given priority over his obligation to support the union. For this reason, the too-close association of the trade union movement with party politics is undesirable.

It may be argued that we really have to choose between two rights. On the one hand, a man is claiming the right to work alongside union members though he himself refuses to join the union. On the other hand, the union members are claiming the right to refuse to work beside a man who will not join them. This is not the issue. It is not a case of one man wanting to work with others though not joining the union, and the rest not wanting to work with somebody who will not join. Something much deeper is involved. What is at stake is the right of a man who may, perhaps for sound reasons, not wish to join a union, to earn a livelihood.

If in any circumstances unions are to be permitted to enforce a union shop, to deny a man the right to work and earn a living unless he joins, there is an urgent need for certain minimum protection to be given. Union membership must cease to be a matter for the union itself to control. Membership must be open to all seeking employment for

which they are qualified, and to remain in membership so long as they pay their union dues. The right of the union to expel a member for a breach of discipline must be abolished or subject to the strictest control. The expulsion of members should be permitted only for grounds which have been accepted by Parliament as sufficient, not grounds that have been written into the rule book by a dubiously representative union conference. Moreover, expulsion must be made only after procedure which fully measure up to the standards of procedures of the Courts, not the much laxer procedures now permitted. It is remarkable that so many Catholics writing on this subject seem to think that it is quite in order for the individual to follow the call of union leaders to strike without themselves searching their consciences about the morality of such action. At present, a man could be deprived of his livelihood for refusing to obey a strike call, even though he may have considered such action to be irresponsible and immoral in the circumstances. Yet these are often the same people who would be the first to defend the right of the conscientious objector to refuse to serve his country in time of war ! Why this selective morality ?

Union Organisation

It has been widely recognised that there is a breakdown of communications in the union organisation. The official leadership is often remote from the rank and file. They may be unaware of the wishes of the rank and file, or even if aware of what the rank and file want and in fact seeking the same objectives, the leadership may be unable to convince the ordinary members that this is the case. They may be unable to persuade the rank and file members to stay at work while negotiations go on : it may be that the rank and file are being persuaded by an unofficial leadership, but this does not alter the fact that the official leaders fail to prevail over the unofficial. There is a breakdown of communication or this kind of thing would not happen.

The explanation of this is, in part, the structure of the British union movement. There are in Britain three types of union, the old craft unions, the industrial unions and the

general unions. The craft unions developed first and cater in the main for skilled workers belonging to one craft. The industrial unions set out to cater for all the workers in a particular industry. The existence of the two types of union may itself be a cause of difficulty, as on the railways. There conflicts have arisen between the N.U.R. which tries to organise all railwaymen but has only a minority membership among the footplatemen, most of whom belong to their own craft union, A.S.L.E.F. Finally, there are the two big general unions, the T. & G.W.U. and the N.U.M. & G. W. The T. & G.W.U. has two important compact nuclei of membership, the dockers and the busmen, but it also caters for the semi-skilled and unskilled workers in a great variety of industries.

There are several disadvantages in this type of union structure, apart from the difficulties that can result from inter-union rivalries and conflicting policies, as on the railways. In the motor industry, for example, there is the problem of trying to negotiate with the large number of unions that are involved. Bargaining would be much simpler if there were but one union. Again, the existence of separate craft unions has given rise to the demarcation disputes that have bedevilled some industries, particularly shipbuilding. But this kind of structure is also conducive to forms of internal union organisation that create difficulties of communication between leadership and membership.

In most factories, there will be several unions organising the workpeople. Each union may have a comparatively limited number of members in the factory, and therefore its own basic unit of organisation is a branch which will cater for all members in the town (or part of a big city) wherever they work. Branch meetings therefore tend to be held after working hours; workers are unwilling to go out again at night after their evening meal, and the union suffers from this apathy. There is a remoteness therefore of branch officials from the ordinary members. Meanwhile, in most factories now there will be shop stewards who are in closer touch with the workers there. There will be a shop stewards' committee comprising stewards from all the unions in that

factory. The shop stewards are therefore a cohesive body, in touch with their workers, and capable of exercising a much more effective leadership than the branch and area officials. Moreover, the policy pursued by the shop stewards may be in conflict with that of the official leadership. This is unsatisfactory, especially where the official leaders are clearly charged with exercising certain functions and it is with this leadership that the employers are going to negotiate.

If industrial unionism were the rule, it would be possible to base the branch on the place of work. All workers there would belong to the same union, and members would generally be sufficient to permit a useful sized branch to be formed. There would be no difficulty in holding meetings in lunch hours or immediately after work, and it would therefore be possible to get a much more representative branch meeting than at present. There might still be shop stewards in different parts of the plant, but with a single union and a branch based on the workplace there would no longer be a conflict between the stewards and official leadership. There could still be clashes between the branch level organisation and the higher levels of union organisation, but this danger would be reduced by the fact that the union had an industrial basis. Without the widespread interests of so many unions at present, it might well be easier for officials at higher levels to maintain better communication with the branches and the rank and file.

It may be some time before such a form of union organisation is the typical one in Britain. Amalgamations have reduced the number of unions, but sectional interests still slow down this trend. Apart from the sectional interests of crafts, union officials themselves may prefer the present set-up, if only because some like to be big fish in a small pool rather than small fish in a big pool (or perhaps even redundant!). Nevertheless, it is likely to come in the long run. It is, after all, the form of organisation that is most common in all other countries.

Sociologists claim that monogamy is neither natural nor essential to human society. How does this square with the Church's teaching? Would St. Peter be proud of his successors? Why are there so few married saints?

Any Questions ?

WILLIAM LAWSON, S.J.

Sociologists claim that monogamy is neither natural nor essential to human society. How does this square with the Church's teaching?

It doesn't. So now what ?

People are always being quoted as having said or claimed—sociologists say, and historians, psychologists, surgeons, pop-singers, politicians . . . the list goes on and on. In such a clamour of voices the wise listener examines the speaker's credentials. The proverb, "Let the cobbler stick to his last" makes sense. The shoe-maker is an authority on shoes, and on that subject he is worth listening to; but if you are told that the cobbler says terylene is no good for making trousers you ask what he knows about it. We live in the days of the universal expert, made so by the practice of inviting the opinion of anyone in the public eye on any subject of public interest, and by the general acceptance of the non-principle that everyone has a right to his opinion, and that any opinion is worthy of attention. The more sacred the subject, the more the opinion of "the common man", or "the man in the street", or "the man on the Clapham bus" is canvassed. The sacred is what is most important in human life; the need of knowledge is discounted when opinions on it are asked for.

The mind, in its search for truth, has to be critical—critical first of all of its own right to criticize, and then of anyone's claim to be the source of truth. Any competent

specialist has truth to impart; and the non-specialist can convey the valuable findings of his common sense. The sociologists amass a wealth of information about what human beings do in their social life, and they can say how they think society can be improved; but they are not authorities on the essential constitution of human beings—human nature and human personality. That authority is Christ, and the Church as taught by Christ.

Do you think St. Peter would be proud of his successors ?

In his humble way, he would be proud of the succession. He started it, at the bidding of his Master, with the assurance that the forces of evil would not bring it to an end; and he must find satisfaction that God's will is being done on earth as it is in heaven.

The question can be answered further only by supposing either the impossible, that St. Peter could come back to earth now and judge the papacy with a mere historian's mind, or the improbable, that he could have looked ahead from his own tenure of the Roman See and have beheld the papacy in its historical ups and downs. The best we can do is try to make up our own minds about the papacy, admitting from the start that we shall never have enough secular knowledge and never enough Christian wisdom to be anywhere near the judgment which Christ will make of his Church.

So many different weights and measures have been adopted for assessing the worth of popes. They are not universally accepted, they are difficult to apply; and what do they prove? By the standard of personal holiness, some popes were very good, some very bad, and some middling. Measured by their practice of "evangelical poverty" (and who decides what that is?) they often defy the necessary separation of the man from the office. Did Church and State necessarily confront one another? If so, was it for the Papacy to represent the Church, making a freedom in which the initiative of bishops and religious founders could be exercised? What degree of centralization was advantageous to

the Church in different ages? How involved would the ideal pope be in an essential bureaucracy?

A reasonable man would not commit himself to a clear-cut judgment.

Why are there so few married saints?

The married members of the family of God in heaven must far outnumber the unmarried. As they are in the presence of God they are perfect, that is to say holy, that is to say saints. That is so, we may suppose, from Adam and Eve onwards, and from Our Lady and Saint Joseph onwards. The question is — to confine our enquiry to Christian times — why do they not have at least as many canonizations as the unmarried?

I think it is partly a matter of "publicity" — not the inflated sort made by advertisement in return for cash, but the genuine sort made by solid achievement for the common good. Many canonizations, whether "popular" or by official process, have been the acknowledgement of the contribution of men and women to the life of the Church in some public way. The martyrs, for example, have borne spectacular "witness" to Christ; the founders of religious orders had a revolutionary effect on their own age, and their work goes on in the orders they created; royal saints were known to their people, popes to the Christian world. The canonization of such public figures gives confirmation to popular judgment and approves of them as examples for all of Christian living.

Publicity works the other way when the Church chooses men or women as outstanding Christians and presents them to the faithful for imitation. This is where we reach the nub of your question. Most of the faithful enter the married state. They need examples from their own state. Aren't there any? The answer is still a matter of publicity—firstly that the Church tends to recommend the less popular life of celibacy, and secondly that the married saints are not known—they belong to the hidden life of Nazareth.

What has oecumenism done to the traditional statement : Outside the Church, no salvation ?

The Church has been trying for centuries to understand herself better, researching, with the help of the Holy Spirit, into Christ's revelation, and so discovering what riches she has to enjoy and to live by. She knows that all men need salvation, that salvation is by Christ alone, and that Christ founded a Church in which his followers should have the sacraments as special means of salvation. Those facts were for a long time interpreted as limiting salvation to the members of the visible Church of Christ; but prayerful study of the will of God that all men should be saved led to speculation about ways in which Christ might put within everybody's reach the life of grace which his death and resurrection gained for everybody. It seems more consistent with the salvific will of God to think that what is decisive for salvation is the direction towards God, and therefore towards Christ and the Church, that men give to their lives rather than the distance they cover in that direction, which is not under their control. God in his love and mercy goes out to meet them when they are using his help to advance towards him.

What oecumenism looks for is good will towards God in which all travellers can unite. What it should not ignore is that Christ covered for us the unbridgeable gap between ourselves and God, and that the help he has given mankind to travel the distance across the bridge is desirable, from our point of view, for all. Christ can let himself be found anywhere; but he can be found most easily in the Church, and he can be met most realistically in the Sacraments. Oecumenism does not mean that no religion is as good as religion or that one religion is as good as another.

Do you think it is right for priests to have the kind of car that only the wealthy can afford ?

Your question makes me wonder what sort of car is a Christian car, and whether anyone should have a car which only the wealthy can afford ?

My knowledge of cars is that of the casual observer, and it is confined to the extremes — Minis at the lower end, Porsches, Jaguars and Rolls-Royce at the other, and a blank in the middle. The possession of a luxury car is a "status symbol", and could be desired for the purpose of keeping up with the Rothschilds — a certain kudos is gained by travelling in a Rolls-Royce, even when it is used as a hearse. Commercial firms have expensive cars for their executives as ground-bait or as background to bargaining. To look opulent gives them an advantage in negotiations. Similar reasons lie behind a government's choice of cars for its own use or for the reception of visitors, together with the sounder reason of being generous in hospitality.

Only the last reason would affect Christians, and it need not lead to the purchase of luxury cars. The Christian, lay or clerical, if he is acting on the Christian principle of using material goods for the glory of God, will choose the car which enables him to do his Christian job in a Christian way. The business executive takes the car provided by his firm; the government official accepts the car belonging to his office; the undertaker buys Rolls-Royces. When they select for personal use they measure by Christian standards.

Normally one would expect no priest to have a 'Silver Cloud' (or whatever that particular Rolls is called) and many to have Minis; but if a priest has to travel far and often could not the right choice be a Jaguar?

How could perfect spirits commit sin?

Any perfectly good being can fall from its perfection only by the action of a disruptive or unbalancing force exerted from either within or without. Where every being is perfect as in the first existence of the angels, there is no external force applying itself to destroy order. Loss of perfection must have been caused within the perfect being.

It would be illegitimate to argue from our own ability to think and desire evil, if such behaviour were due only to our imperfect condition; but it seems that the power to unbalance self belongs to the very nature of mind and will.

The intellect has a discursive action, and ranges over the whole of reality to take it in as knowledge. It responds to the attraction of anything that is, and is satisfied only with the full possession which we call truth. When it is perfect, and left to itself, it makes the right assessment of the reality to which it attends, and possesses truth in proportion. The will, attending to what is known, desires it as good, with the priorities right according to the proportion present in the truth.

There is, in that description of processes, no door by which unbalance, disproportion and disorderly priorities can enter. That is because no mention has been made of the limitations of any created nature, angelic and human. Outside what a created intellect can know, there is an infinity which is beyond direct knowledge. If it can be known at all, it can be known only by faith; and where faith is demanded—which is always a step into the darkness of the unknown—there can be an interplay of intellect and will which can induce a concentration on this or that partial truth, this or that partial good. Over-concentration on the partial truth that is self would be sin.

THE CHURCH AT WORK

Vatican Council II

V. PASTORAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH TODAY. Part 2.

OBSERVER

HAVING in the first part of the Constitution set forth "the dignity of the human person and the work which men have been destined to undertake throughout the world both as individuals and as members of society," the Council Fathers turn in greater detail in the second half to "a number of particularly urgent needs characterising the present age, needs which go to the roots of the human race." They can, of course, do no more than select even from among the comparatively short list of pressing evils that they give in the first half, nevertheless their text covers: marriage and the family, human culture, life in its economic and political dimensions, the bonds between the family of nations and finally world peace. Here, unfortunately, we can take no more than a cursory glance at what they say.

As Christians, we can see that the fundamental reason for the presence of so much evil in the world is the lack of religious belief and practice. Without spiritual motivation we are hardly likely to view human acts in the right perspective; without the strength that comes from the Holy Spirit, we are hardly likely to do the right thing when that action runs contrary to our own self-interest considered in its short term earthly setting. Yet neither Christ nor His Church teaches a morality — in the widest meaning of that word — which is not in the strictest conformity with rational human nature understood in both its individual and social aspects. Apart, therefore, from constantly re-iterating the need for us to turn to God as our prop and support, the Constitution endeavours to delineate clearly the rational arguments for all that it declares. We ourselves must see here the essential first step we must use to prevent the world from rushing to

its own self-destruction. Men no longer search the scripture to discover what they should do; they no longer abide by the moral traditions of their fathers which, in the West at least, were embedded in that same scripture. Though they are the strongest of conventionalists in kow-towing to the constantly changing fashions of the day, they loudly proclaim their parents and grandparents as the last adherents of convention. Their morality is not positive and permanent but permissive and transitory. Yet nowhere in the whole of the Constitution do the Fathers appeal to that scholasticism which dominated the theological lines of thought in our Catholic past. Not that they reject it. But they wish to leave open all channels of philosophical argument which are at the same time valid and in addition convincing to our present generation with its stress on the scientific and technical.

Marriage and Family Life

The Constitution begins by recognising some of the basic problems of married life : " Polygamy, the plague of divorce, so-called free love and other disfigurements have an obscuring effect; married love is too often profaned by excessive self-love, the worship of pleasure and illicit practices against human generation; serious disturbances, moreover, are caused in families by modern economic conditions, by influences at once social and psychological, and by the demands of civil society ". The fulfilment of mutual love and the begetting and education of children appear to be put on the same level as valid reasons for the marriage contract. In fact the stress is placed on conjugal love as being of the essence of a true marriage (at least in its inception), and granted that love, which must of its nature be selfless, then the generation of children will follow. But parenthood must be *responsible*. " This Council," we read, " realizes that certain modern conditions often keep couples from arranging their married lives harmoniously, and that they find themselves in circumstances where, at least temporarily, the size of their families should not be increased. As a result, the faithful exercise of love and the full intimacy of their lives are hard to maintain. But where the full intimacy of married life is broken off,

it is not rare for its faithfulness to be imperilled and its quality of fruitfulness ruined. For the upbringing of the children and the courage to accept new ones are both endangered."

But then the Fathers warn : " To these problems there are those who presume to offer dishonourable solutions. Indeed they do not recoil from the taking of life. The Church issues the reminder that a true contradiction cannot exist between the divine laws pertaining to the transmission of life and those pertaining to the fostering of authentic conjugal love." The Fathers then proceed to condemn specific illicit acts, but, since they had already asked the Pope himself (Paul VI) to establish a commission to enquire into the morality of all forms of so-called artificial birth-control, and himself eventually to make an authoritative pronouncement on the subject, they did no more than declare : " Members of the Church may not undertake methods of regulating procreation which are found blameworthy by the teaching authority of the Church in its unfolding of the divine law."

This section of the Constitution concludes with an appeal to all those who have an especial opportunity, to get people's ideas on marriage once again back on the right lines and at the same time to stress that which perhaps only faintly comprehended before—that marriage, conjugal love was God's great gift to mankind, through which the couple should obtain abiding human happiness should regard it as a sacred duty to shield public morality and to favour the prosperity of domestic life. . . . Children too who unhappily lack the blessing of a family should be protected by prudent legislation. . . . and provided with the help they need." It would seem, therefore, that the Irish Commission which is urging the *Dail* to introduce divorce laws for Ireland and rest some of their argument on the "spirit of Vatican II" cannot in any way point to this section for support, and this is the only place where the Council deals at any length with Marriage and its kindred subjects.

Development of Human Culture

There are diverse ways in which we may define the word

"culture", and the Council Fathers in the opening paragraphs of this section look at some of them. Whatever definition appeals to us personally, we may agree with the Constitution when it declares that modern man is using a variety of new methods, primarily scientific and technological to bring the world itself under his control. Thus they exemplify: "The so-called exact sciences sharpen critical judgment to a very fine edge; recent psychological research explains human activity more profoundly; historical studies make a signal contribution to bringing man to see things in their changeable and revolutionary aspects; customs and usages are becoming increasingly uniform; industrialisation, urbanisation and other causes of community living create new forms of culture (mass-culture) from which arise new ways of thinking, acting and making use of leisure; the growth of communication between the various nations and social groups open widely to all the treasures of different cultures. Thus, little by little a more universal form of human culture is developing one which (and here is added a short clause which it is vitally important for the world to remember that we may not be flooded by "Americanisation") . . . one which will promote and express the unity of the human race to the degree that it preserves the *particular feature of the different cultures*."

We see the danger in our own western world where there exists the tension between "the culture resulting from the scientific and technological progress" with that which has developed from the centuries-old traditions based on the classical studies. The Fathers also remind us that with the necessary specialisation in the ever-increasingly diverse branches of knowledge, we face the problem of the integration of knowledge and the ability "to contemplate and to wonder, from which wisdom comes." Finally they ask the question: How is the independence which culture claims for itself to be recognised as legitimate, without the promotion of a humanism which is merely earth-bound, and even contrary to religion itself?

In a sense, the Church is outside and beyond culture as

such for she in no way depends on it for her passage, which is of God. Yet in another real sense she is wholly dependent on it since she has to communicate that message to man. "The Church", the Constitution declares, "is not bound indissolubly and exclusively to any race or nation, nor to any particular way of life, or any customary pattern of living, whether ancient or modern." We may thus conclude that the "Church can enter into communion with various cultural modes, to her own enrichment and theirs too." In this passage, we may see the basis for all the many changes which we have experienced of late in the (authoritative) Liturgy in the Latin West. Noting what has been said above by the Fathers, it may not be too far fetched to state that those with a culture based on the classical tradition are finding the changes hard to stomach; while those who are of the scientific technological upsurge are pressing for more. The two must be harmonized in the liturgical as well as in the social sphere if the true wisdom of the Church is to appear and the full force of its spirituality brought to bear on the secular world.

In a later passage dealing with the strain that may appear between culture and Christian teaching, the Fathers assert that difficulties do not necessarily harm the life of faith, indeed "they can stimulate the mind to a more accurate and penetrating grasp of the faith, for recent studies of science, etc. raise new questions which influence life and demand new approaches to theology with the words, "While adhering to the methods and requirements proper to theology, theologians are invited to seek continually for more suitable ways of communicating doctrine to the man of our times. For the deposit of faith revealed truths are one thing; the manner in which they are formulated without violence to their meaning and significance is another."

Socio-Economic Life

The sections under this heading deals with questions that will be familiar with anyone acquainted with the social encyclicals of the past seventy-five years. Some readers might carp that a particular topic is treated too cursorily.

But we must remember that the Council had in mind the fact that the social questions had been treated at length in papal documents and they had very little to add. There was no need for an *aggiornamento* in the social teaching of the Church. Nevertheless, the great advantage of this portion of the Document is that it brings together, though in summary form, all that had gone before and underlines a few particular aspects. Here we may note a few: Many people seem to be hypnotised by economics, so that almost their entire personal and social life, is permeated with a certain economic outlook. These people can be found in both capitalist and collective countries. The changes that should and could diminish social inequalities, often serve only to make them worse. In some places it even results in a further decline in the social status of the weak. (The Fathers make a similar observation when later dealing with the contrast between the developed and the developing countries. The gap between the rich and the poor countries — despite aid and real efforts on the part of the old colonial territories — is growing ever larger.) In some developing countries (do we see here a reference to Latin America in particular?), while an enormous mass of people still lack the absolute necessities of life, a few live sumptuously or squander wealth. As in *Mater et Magistra*, the plight of the small farmers in the developed countries is chosen as one section of the community which is being reduced to poverty (we are reminded of the present agricultural problems in the E.E.C. and of the rioting of the small farmers and fishermen of Brittany against the prices being fixed by the agreement of the Six). The cure for such increasing poverty is seen, not just in government subsidies, but primarily in the young farmers learning the latest techniques for without the latest agricultural skills, no progress can take place. (In the later chapters, the same learning and practice is suggested for the primitive farmers of the undeveloped countries, with the obligation on the part of the richer lands to help all they can with the training.)

Apart from supporting the concept of trade unions, the Constitution urges that there should be the active participa-

on of all employees in the running of enterprise, though recognising the distinction of each one's function. Though recognising the right of governments to undertake the running and control of certain industries, the stress is on private property and ownership which contribute to the expression of personality. Also, since they add incentives for carrying out one's function and duty, they are declared to constitute a condition of prerequisite for civil liberties. Although it is recognised that governments should where there seems no alternative, provide family and social services, we are warned against so depending on them that we lose our initiative and will to be self-supporting.

The National and International Community

As there are many differing cultures and traditions across the face of the globe, so it is recognised that there are many legitimate forms of government, but the Fathers insist that according to the people's ability they should be given a part in the guidance of their own destiny through some sort of representation. Clearly the ideal should be that all should participate equitably, that they should not be mere pawns in the hands of despotic or even benevolent rulers, for man, as an intelligent being, should never be a tool for others. "Where public authority," the Constitution declares, "oversteps its competence and oppresses the people, the people should nevertheless obey to the extent that the objective common good demands. Still it is lawful for them to defend their own rights and those of their fellow-citizens against any abuse of this authority, provided that in so doing they observe the limits imposed by natural law and the gospel."

The Council Fathers praise the efforts of all men who are contributing to the settlement of international disputes in a peaceful manner. War is, as is to be expected, deplored, but they do not agree that unilateral disarmament is the way to world peace. "As long as the danger of war remains, and there is no competent and sufficiently powerful authority at the international level, governments cannot be denied the right to legitimate defence once every means of peaceful settlement has been exhausted."

Books Reviews

COUNTERPOINT

The Peasant of the Garonne by Jacques Maritain; Geoffrey Chapman, 42s; pp. 277.

Trojan Horse in the City of God by Dietrick von Hildebrand; Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago, Illinois, USA, 50s; pp. 263.

IN an article written in the *Observer* on April 14th last, the Anglican Bishop of Woolwich, Dr. John Robinson, wrote of the present need, as he saw it, for the disintegration of the whole framework of organised religion. What had served hitherto as a mould in which the Church had been shaped and contained and its message transmitted had now outlived its day. The Institutional Church had become ossified. As at present structured, it is capable of standing over and against the world, not of permeating it. Hence it must go and explode with a new energy that shatters the Church as an institution in order that the substance of its message may be given new life. The need is for the disintegration of what Dr. Robinson calls "the whole framework of organised religion". He sees the next five years as crucial in this regard.

The argument, of course, is specious. It fails on two counts, one of logic and the other of understanding as to the true mission of the Catholic Church, which alone interested me in this article. It is illogical to argue that because, as an institution, it has not always met modern needs as adequately as it should, therefore its organised substance should be destroyed; give way to the autonomous groups of non-Church Christians of whom Charles Davis wrote in his apologia for his apostasy. One might as well argue that the only substitute for inadequate civil government is anarchy. The true remedy under such circumstances is to improve government, not destroy it; and the same applies to the Church. Few will deny that there is much to be done in this respect. Pope John called the Second Vatican Council in order that the *aggiornamento*—the updating of the Church to meet modern

eds—might be got under way. The need for adaptation in this sense is clear and Pope Paul has already done much to meet it. We should be thankful for his efforts; but we owe no thanks at all to Dr. Robinson and Catholics who follow him in their interpretation of the *aggiornamento* as an accommodation of Catholic life and doctrine to the secular spirit of the contemporary world.

Behind Dr. Robinson's call for the disintegration of organized Christianity there lies a very real failure to understand the real nature of the Church's mission. He feels that Christianity is not serving contemporary needs. The trouble is that he seems to envisage these needs in essentially material terms. The implication behind his *Observer* article would appear to be that the Council will come alive only insofar as its members serve their fellowmen in any of the fields of secular activity that are open to them all. What counts in Robinson's eyes is service. The Church is of value to the extent that it serves; therefore, let Christians serve. Since effective service is impeded by the archaic organization of the Church, the sooner the organization is allowed to disintegrate the better. The vitality of Christianity will be restored by the secular activity of the autonomous dedicated group of non-Church Christians. St. Peter's, presumably, will do better as a giant self-service unit where hot snacks are provided for Roman typists. In its present form it represents no more than a feudal anachronism unsuited to the present age.

This, of course, is nonsense. Quite apart from his apparent forgetfulness of the Institutional Church's great record in the service of mankind, Dr. Robinson appears to have forgotten that what makes this service meaningful in Christian eyes is not its amount or accompanying bustle, but the fact that it is done for the sake of Christ Our Lord; that it is Christian only to the extent that it reveals Christ; that his love pours out in the service we render others only insofar as we share life with him in the communion of his Catholic Church. That Church has been given by Christ the means of supernatural life, which impels us to love others for his sake and serve him in them in a whole variety of ways. For the Christian,

therefore, what makes service valid is not the amount done but the love brought to it as an expression of life shared with Christ. What counts is not the cup of water that is given, but the fact that it is given for his sake. Service to others is a kind of loving in which we reveal Christ. Apart from him, it is nothing; no more than the sounding brass and tinkling cymbal of which St. Paul speaks.

How foolish, then, to hope for more effective service from non-Church groups of Christians cut off, by hypothesis, from a disintegrated Institutional Church. One might speak just as well of cutting a diver's life-line to free him for more effective underwater operations. The point is that he cannot operate *at all* without his life line. No more can a Catholic without the grace of God, the means of which are within the Institutional Church founded by Christ Our Lord. The trouble with Dr. Robinson is that he does not appear to understand the supernatural. He is without any real knowledge of the true meaning of the Christian life.

One can forgive in an Anglican Bishop what it is difficult to excuse in a Catholic. Not long ago, one could take it for granted that most Catholics, even the simplest, were aware of the supernatural life; that they understood something, at least, of the power of prayer. The Little Flower did nothing except clean the sacristy things in her convent and put up with the annoyances of community life. Yet, she shares with Saint Francis Xavier the patronage of the Church's missionary effort. Most of us understood, as we still understand, that this was in recognition of the power of prayer; that what counts, once again, is not what you do, but the love you bring to it. Saint Theresa, we understood, as holding up the Missionary Church — much more than CAFOD or OXFAM or Christian Aid — as she polished the sacristy brass. For what, after all, can you set against a saint's prayers? Nothing I would say and I know in this I am right. My fellow Catholics would agree with me except for a growing few who have been infected by Dr. Robinson's secularism, who want everyone to be up and doing because they no longer know what it means to pray — like the American chaplain at the end of the last war who refused to bring succour to

self-starved convent of Poor Clares in Northern Italy on the ground that they "did nothing"; or the stupid English priest who was heard to boast a couple of years ago that he had been for a week to Lourdes without saying a single rosary; or those others who proclaim that what we want is action, meaning by this, as a rule, no more than secular activity, picking up the fag-ends of a bustling, welfare world. What we want is not action, but prayer; or, if you like, action that is itself a prayer because the love of Christ is its essential dynamic.

Dietrich von Hildebrand has much to say on these and hundred points. So, too, has Maritain; at his best in a section of his book called "Kneeling before the World". Throughout, this great old man to whom the Church owes so much is at one with von Hildebrand in his contempt for those who are in the need for *aggiornamento* a licence to adopt the ways of the world. It would be foolish to deny that the Church has suffered in the past from an overdose of legalism, that the piety of the faithful has been, perhaps, too enclosed and, as a consequence, remote from reality; but the cure for this is not to be found in throwing piety aside, doing away with devotion, and giving oneself over to unthinking involvement in a secularist do-gooding. The cure is to bring Christ through prayer and the sacraments more truly into our daily doing, so that all our actions are lit with his love.

"It is easy", writes von Hildebrand, "to 'feel' oneself alive and free if one forgets about the *unum necessarium*, the one thing necessary, and directs all one's powers towards secular endeavours. It is easy to feel bursting with energy if, for example, the clearance of slums concerns one more than transformation in Christ. What the progressive call 'leaving the Catholic ghetto' is in reality giving up the Catholic and keeping the ghetto. They would replace the universal Church with the ghetto of secularism, with imprisonment in a stifling permanentism, with isolation in a world that sits *in umbra mortis*, in the shadow of death. To achieve a unity of religion and life by adapting religion to the *saeculum* does not result in a union of religion with our daily life, but reduces religion to the pursuit of purely mundane goals."

So much for Dr. Robinson and the growing number of Catholics who think as he does. The best I can say of these two books — particularly that of von Hildebrand because of the better-ordered arrangement of its contents — is that they set down the criteria which a Catholic must use if he is to take intelligent stock of the nonsense talked in too many Catholic circles today. For the reason just given, he will find von Hildebrand's book the more useful of the two despite its somewhat lurid title. University chaplains will find both books particularly useful.

Paul Crane, S.J.

BREAK-OUT

The English Jesuits by Bernard Basset, S.J.; Burns & Oates, 63s; pp. 477.

There is a story told of the early days at Heythorp College, the Jesuit House of Studies in Oxfordshire. It bears repetition. Two young scholastics passed two old ladies as they were whirling down the drive on their bicycles. "They're Jesuits," said one old lady to the other. "Oh, are they", was the reply, "I thought they were nice young men". The English Province of the Society, like most others, has been in danger from two extremes. On the one hand, opprobrium, which is not too difficult to take; on the other, acceptance, which can be insidious. It is better, I think, to be hated than to be accepted as part of any Establishment: few men can take that. Most problems of the English Province can be traced to their acceptance by the Victorian Catholic Establishment. It is to their credit that the English Jesuits are trying now to extricate themselves from it.

They had to suffer much in the early days of the Province's history. It began in blood and produced an almost unequalled range of heroes. In typically English fashion they have rarely been given their due, even by their own brethren. Only in these latter days have their stories begun to be told. Father Philip Caraman was a pioneer with the life of John Gerard. Father Basset's present volume, I hope

all set something of a fashion. More than ever today, the English Province needs to learn from the example of its early members. It is on the edge, we hope, of new ventures. These will fail unless they are enflamed with the spirit of the past; Sampson's daring and Persons' strategy are ingredients essential to the success of any venture at any time.

What the English Jesuits hated most, I imagine, during the persecution of early days, was to be branded as traitors, or they loved their country as well as any of their countrymen. For years the word "Jesuit" was a term of opprobrium. As such, it lasted well beyond the time when English Jesuits, along with their lay friends, were hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn. It took a lot of living down. It could be that the effort to do so drew them into too easy an acceptance of the English *status quo*. They were as anxious to be accepted into the mainstream of English life as the members of the old Catholic families who were their friends. These had always helped and sheltered the Fathers with wonderful generosity. The bond was close. It may account for the love of the English countryside displayed until recently by so many members of the Province. It was in the countryside that many of them were born and that their friends lived, members of old and faithful Catholic families who had kept to the remains of their estates, leading until into the First World War the quiet lives of Catholic country gentlemen, cherishing the Faith of their Fathers. It was an essentially static existence, but it seemed to lie at England's heart and it had a deceptive air of permanence about it. It was blasted to bits on the battlefields of Flanders. For better or for worse, it was never to come back again.

The English Jesuits were no quicker to realise this than anyone else. Their institutions remained tuned to an Edwardian Catholicism after the shooting was over in 1918. For them, rather finely, the Faith had always been a very traditional thing. So, too, had their patriotism. It should not be forgotten that they gained acceptance in the stable world of Victorian England. They took that world and its seeming certainties very closely to heart. They became part of it. Their Province still bears its mark. It has shown itself

slow to step outside the *status quo*, to question the certainties of yesterday. All this is understandable. It would be peculiar, really, if things had been any other way.

It probably accounts for the fact that, though there have been some great men amongst the English Jesuits, there have been few great innovators. Peter Galway and Bernard Vaughan, Daniel Considine and Henry Keane, the lovable Frank Devas of more recent days, Joe Woodlock and, in Rhodesia, the great Archbishop Chichester, were all, so to say, within the system. They did great work with their world, but they took that world for granted. It never entered their heads to question it or, I would say, to seek new approaches to its problems. They were, in a very real sense, representative of the best of their age. They never stepped outside it. Those who did, like Charles Plater and Cyril Martindale, were always, I think, slightly suspect in the eyes of their brethren as great characters, like Considine and Keane, who worked within the system, never really were. And it is these who left their mark, who stamped the Province with their acceptance of the *status quo*. Neither Plater nor Martindale received any effective support from their brethren during their lives. There was friendship indeed, and an attempt to understand that bred a kindly tolerance, but little real attempt was made to build effectively onto Plater's effort in the social field or Martindale's work for the young. The English Province has never been kind to its pioneers. Plater dropped dead from overwork in Malta when he was forty-six. Martindale typed all his own letters until he died.

There are few great characters amongst the English Jesuits these days; but there are, I think, more ideas and they are given much more rein than they were. There is not yet a policy suited to the times; but there is visible the beginning of an attempt to form one. Once this is done, effective strategy will be possible. There has been a break-out from the old categories and there is an eagerness to meet the needs of the times, which needs careful yet dynamic direction to be rendered effective. I am sure this will come.

Paul Crane, SJ